DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 399 325 UD 031 289

AUTHOR Jaret, Charles, Ed.
TITLE Issues in U.S. Immigration. Resources and Suggestions for High School Teachers and College Instructors.
INSTITUTION American Sociological Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 95
NOTE 41p.
AVAILABLE FROM ASA Teaching Resources Center, 1722 N Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.
PUB TYPE Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055) -- Reference Materials - Bibliographies (131)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Citations (References); College Faculty; *Critical Thinking; *Cultural Awareness; Data Interpretation; Federal Legislation; Higher Education; High Schools; *Immigration; *Public Policy; Resource Materials; *Resources; Secondary School Teachers; *Teaching Methods; Thinking Skills

ABSTRACT

This booklet provides key facts about U.S. immigration and presents references to books and data sources on immigration, critical thinking exercises, and research project ideas. The topic of immigration, which continues to have such impact on the United States, should be a high priority in schools. The social and cultural aspects of the trials and successes of American immigrants have been the subject of many creative works and social science books. Some examples are listed of historic and contemporary treatments of immigrant experience and useful sources for sociological research. Suggestions are made for research projects, class discussions, and critical thinking exercises. Section 2 discusses immigration to the United States and comments on changes in immigration law and policy. Resource materials are listed to help the teacher prepare for class discussions, and suggestions are made for helping students read graphs and interpret data. Section 3 examines present-day immigration, and Section 4 reviews controversies about the impact of immigration, including the use of welfare services by immigrants. Section 5 lists additional information sources, with addresses for five organizations and print resources. (Contains one figure and two tables.) (SLD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 399 325

ISSUES IN U.S. IMMIGRATION

Resources and Suggestions for High School Teachers and College Instructors

Edited by

Charles Jaret
Georgia State University

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN OTHER THAN PAPER COPY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
CB Howery
ASA
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

ASA Teaching Resources Center
1722 N Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-3410

UD031 289

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ASA Resource Materials for Teaching

Copyright 1995

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Documents distributed by the ASA Teaching Resources Center are not intended to represent the official position of the American Sociological Association. Instead, they constitute a medium by which colleagues may communicate with each other to improve the teaching of sociology.

CONTENTS

Preface i

Introduction 1

Section 1. Social and Cultural Aspects of Immigrant Life 3

Research Projects, Discussion, and Critical Thinking 9

Section 2. Immigration to the United States: The Long View 11

Basic Skills and Critical Thinking 14

Section 3. A Closer Look at Present Day Immigration 18

Frequently Used Terms Pertaining to Immigrants 19

Discussion and Critical Thinking 20

Section 4. Controversies About the Impact of Immigration 22

Immigrants and Job Competition: Five Points of View 22

Use of Public Welfare by Immigrants 27

Research, Discussion, and Critical Thinking 35

Section 5. Additional Information Sources on U.S. Immigration 36

Preface

This project originated in an idea suggested to me by Dr. Barbara Karcher of Kennesaw State College in early 1994. She was organizing a teaching workshop to be given at the American Sociological Association meetings in Los Angeles. The purpose of the workshop was to suggest ways to help high school teachers improve their students' critical thinking skills and increase students' preparedness for college by exposing them to sociological research methods and findings. Dr. Karcher thought it important to include material on racial/ethnic relations in the workshop, and since she knew I was finishing a textbook on that subject, she asked if I could prepare an outline or "module" for teachers. A booklet providing key facts about U.S. immigration, references to good books and data sources on immigration, critical thinking exercises, and research project ideas seemed most useful. A first draft of that document, presented at the ASA teaching workshop and mailed to social studies coordinators in Georgia, received a positive response. One of the leading scholars of immigration, Dr. Teresa A. Sullivan (University of Texas at Austin), also reviewed it and encouraged me to complete and distribute it at both the high school and college levels.

As I learned about the high school social studies curriculum in Georgia's public schools, it became clear that the most appropriate grade levels for this booklet would be grades 11 (where students study U.S. history) and/or grade 12 (where students often have an elective subject such as sociology). I hope teachers in those two grades find this material useful. At the college level, many new courses covering issues related to our nation's increasing ethnic diversity include materials on immigration. College instructors or graduate teaching assistants should find the information and reference material in this booklet useful. For further treatment of immigration and other important topics on race and ethnicity, my textbook, Contemporary Racial and Ethnic Relations (Harper-Collins, 1995) or others can be consulted. Rather than lay out a curriculum or even a lesson plan on immigration that would be suitable for most high school teachers, here I have tried to do the following:

(1) provide basic information about key issues in U.S. immigration;
(2) give suggestions about using the topic of immigration to help sharpen students' critical thinking skills;
(3) make recommendations about useful reference material that teachers can consult or introduce to students and expand their knowledge in this area.

I want to thank Dr. Karcher for suggesting this project and encouraging me to pursue it, and to Dr. Sullivan for her feedback. I also appreciate the comments given by many Georgia high school teachers who responded to the first draft of this booklet. Robert N. Gilbert (at Palatine High School), whose skill in bringing sociology into the high school curriculum is unmatched, also helped keep my interest in this project high. I also appreciate the editorial and substantive suggestions made by Dr. Janet Mancini Billson, at the ASA Teaching Resources Center. Finally, I'm grateful for the help given me by Selma Poage and Cindy Jaret in preparing this document. I hope it increases people's understanding of and respect for immigrants in the United States.

Introduction

The racial-ethnic composition of the United States has undergone many changes over the past two centuries, and it faces new changes now and in the future. Hayward D. Horton, of Iowa State University, summarized this transformation very well in his introductory remarks at a panel discussion on ethnicity at the 1993 Southern Sociological Society meetings. He said, "As we speak, America is becoming less white. It is also becoming less black."

This is an eye-opening fact, especially for those of us who have seen only black and white when examining what W.E.B. Du Bois called "the problem of the 20th Century" (the "color-line") and what Gunnar Myrdal termed "An American Dilemma" (racial discrimination). Yes, the U.S. is becoming less white and less black and, undoubtedly, this will cause us to view race relations and ethnicity in a new light.

Three processes are at work producing a "less white and less black" United States. These are:

-- an increase in marriages across "racial" lines, which have produced children who sometimes "blur" old "racial" categories and often want to be known as bi- or multiracial rather than either black or white;

-- the outright rejection of old "racial" labels and categories (e.g., "black," "white") as valid concepts and a preference for ethnic labels (like Italian American, African American, Chicano/a) or for a generic identity like "just American;"

-- changing patterns of immigration to the U.S., which bring many people from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean Islands who often consider themselves to be racially and/or ethnically distinct from the native black and white population.

All three processes are interesting and significant, but immigration is most important numerically, and, in fact, is partially responsible for the other two. For these reasons this booklet concentrates on immigration.

The topic of immigration should be given a higher priority in our schools. Valuable lessons, discussions, and class projects in history, geography, politics, anthropology, sociology, economics, literature, art, and music can all be built out of material pertaining to immigration. The topic of immigration is a gold mine for imaginative teachers looking for interesting material:

-- Introduce your students to the drama of human experience that arises when people leave old ways of life and create new ones.

-- Help students discover the political passions aroused by debate over immigration policy today and in past eras.

-- Show them how to explore and analyze the rich stores of quantitative and qualitative data on immigrants and their lives.

-- Guide them in reflections about how dreams, hopes, fears, hatreds, forms of exploitation, new opportunities, ideals of democracy, generosity, and tolerance can affect immigrants' and native-born people's lives.

Few subjects match the topic of immigration in terms of the variety of things that can be learned, and it is all the more timely and valuable today, since the U.S. is in the midst of one of the heaviest immigrations of its history.

Section 1. Social and Cultural Aspects of Immigrant Life

The spirit, trials, struggles, adaptations, tragedies, and successes of American immigrants have been the subject of novels, songs, movies, legends, and social science books. Some are first person accounts by insiders (immigrants or their children), others are by interested or curious outsiders. Most students, even those who live in communities with sizeable immigrant groups, can learn a great deal from these. Listed below is just a sampling from the wide range of material on immigrant experiences:

A. **Autobiographies**, **novels**, and **plays** about the immigrants' experiences, both in the homeland and the new country (or the writings by children of immigrants) are a popular literary form. They are a good way to get insiders' perspectives on what life is like for an immigrant or second generation American. Amy Tan's novel, The Joy Luck Club, centering on several Chinese American women, is probably the most well known recent work. Bharati Mukherjee's novels and short stories (Jasmine, Darkness, and The Middleman and Other Stories) present readers with an intermingling of the cultures of India and modern America. Relations and tensions between immigrant and later generations, or between the group and the larger society are often dramatized in plays. This is especially clear in Chicano theater and plays by Luis Valdez. Jorge A. Huerta's Chicano Theater: Themes and Forms (Bilingual Press, 1982) is a good guide to it, and you may want try having students act out or discuss scenes from some of the plays mentioned in it. Richard Rodriguez's autobiographical Hunger of Memory (Godine, 1981) describes his education and the cultural choices and pressures faced by a Mexican American in California from childhood through graduate school. Piri Thomas' books, Down These Mean Streets (Knopf, 1967) and Stories From El Barrio (Knopf, 1978) portray the lives of Puerto Ricans in New York. For an earlier immigrant group, a classic is Ole Rolvaag's, Giants in the Earth (Harper & Row, 1929), a portrait of Norwegian settlers on the Great Plains in the 1800s. Look around to see what other novels, autobiographies, or plays you can find.

B. Several **books** contain chapters by writers representing various immigrant groups; each describes experiences of their own group as seen through their own eyes. Four good ones of this type are:

The Immigrant Experience: The Anguish of Becoming American, edited by Thomas C. Wheeler (Dial Press, 1971). It contains chapters by an African American and Irish, Italian, Norwegian, Puerto Rican, Chinese, Jewish, English, and Polish immigrants to the U.S.

Today's Immigrants: Their Stories, edited by Thomas Kessner & Betty Boyd Caroli (Oxford University Press, 1982). It contains chapters by recent immigrants from Vietnam, Peru, Korea, Ireland, Russia, the West Indies, Italy, China, Greece, and Honduras.

Immigrant Voices: New Lives in America, 1773-1986, edited by Thomas Dublin (University of Illinois Press, 1993). It contains chapters written by immigrants from Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Russia, Korea, Mexico, Japan, Puerto Rico, and Vietnam.

First Generation: In the Words of 20th Century American Immigrants, revised edition, edited by June Namias (University of Illinois Press, 1992). It contains chapters by immigrants from many nations in Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

C. **Photo Essays**. Quite a few books have been published that use photographs and pictures, along with a written text, to describe the history of immigration and settlement of a particular group. Students enjoy seeing these photos, especially old ones, and they can add a lot to a lecture or discussion of a group. One of my favorites of this type is: A Portrait of the Italians in America, by Vincenza Scarpaci (Charles Scribners, 1982) for it has great images not just of Italians in the Eastern cities, but in parts of the U.S. that don't ordinarily come to mind when you think of Italian Americans. Another one giving an insider's perspective is The Japanese Americans, by Harry Kitano (Chelsea House, 1987).

Two other excellent photo-based histories of U.S. immigration that are much broader in coverage are: A Pictorial History of Immigration, by Oscar Handlin (Crown Publishers, 1972) and The American People, by Bernard A. Weisberger (American Heritage Publishing Co., 1971).

D. **Songs** and **music** of immigrants often capture many elements of their life. Some of the songs on albums by Los Lobos do this. Several aspects of working class Texas-Mexican life are illuminated by a musical style called "conjunto," as described in Manuel H. Pena's The Texas-Mexican Conjunto: A History of a Working-Class Music (University of Texas Press, 1985). Folk songs and folk tales from several immigrant groups (e.g., Mexican, Irish, Chinese, Acadian, Cuban, Vietnamese) are included in From Sea to Shining Sea: A Treasury of American Folklore and Folksongs, compiled by Amy L. Cohn (Scholastic, Inc., 1993).

E. **Outsiders' Views**. Immigrants and their lives have been analyzed, romanticized, and criticized by other Americans who have not actually been in their shoes. Among these are judgmental indictments, detached descriptions, sympathetic portraits, misinformed musings, and perceptive observations. You might find interesting material that can help you prepare for class sessions in the following:

1. The major weekly **news magazines** often run feature stories on the topic of immigration. This past decade, Time Magazine, for example, has done two "special issues" on immigration: "The New Face of America" Fall, 1993, and "The Changing Face of America," July 8, 1985.

2. **Journalists** and **social workers** have produced volumes of material on immigrants and their lives. Some of the classic works of this type cover the settlement areas of the Southern and Eastern European immigrants in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Among the best are:

Addams, Jane. 1910. Twenty Years at Hull House. NY: Phillips (reissued and edited by James Hurst, University of Illinois Press, 1990).

Hapgood, Hutchins. 1902. The Spirit of the Ghetto: Studies of the Jewish Quarter of New York. NY: Funk & Wagnalls. (reissued by Schocken Books, 1966).

Riis, Jacob. 1890. How the Other Half Lives. NY: Charles Scribner's. (reissued by Garrett Press, 1970).

3. **Commercial and Documentary Movies.** Movies can convey a vivid sense of what immigrants to the United States experience, and many of them depict life both here and in the homeland.

Among the commercially released movies one that has been highly praised by sociologists is *"El Norte."* It portrays the dangerous journey of a brother and sister from Guatemala through Mexico to the U.S., and raises questions about international politics, labor exploitation, tensions and relations between U.S. citizens and immigrants. For good suggestions about how to use and lead a discussion of this movie, see: Martin Marger's review of "El Norte" [Teaching Sociology, 1989, 17: 121-22] and Paula Dressel's article, "Films That Put Social Problems in Global Context" [Teaching Sociology, 1990 v. 18 (Apr.): 226-230].

A commercial movie portraying immigration during an earlier era, *"Hester Street"* is also a good choice. It focuses on Jewish immigration, the Lower East Side of New York City, and issues of family relations, gender roles, and acculturation.

Some fine documentary films about immigrants are:

"Becoming American," (1983) features a Hmong family that fled Laos, lived in a refugee camp in Thailand, and eventually settled in Seattle. The shock of American culture, prejudices they face, and their adaptations are well captured in this film. It was made by Ken and Ivory Waterworth Levine, is 58 minutes long, and is distributed by New Day Films (201 652-1989).

"Moving Mountains: The Story of Yiu Mien," (1990) shows a group of Southeast Asian refugees adapting to a new setting in the Pacific Northwest. It is 58 minutes long and is distributed by Filmmaker's Library (212 808-4980).

"Displaced in the New South: Refugees and Immigrants in North Georgia," (1994) shows recent Mexican and Asian immigrants at work, in school, and socializing and also depicts the uneasy relationship they have with other people in Georgia. It was made by David Zeiger and Eric Mofford, is about 60 minutes long, and is distributed by Displaced Films, 404 378-6537).

"America Becoming," (1991) focuses on six different cities in the U.S. and illustrates how recent immigrants relate with established residents in the areas of housing, school, work, and politics. It was produced by Dai Sil Kim-Gibson, is 90 minutes long, and is distributed by PBS Video (1 800 344-3337).

"Out of Ireland," (1995) follows eight immigrants who fled Ireland's "potato famine" in mid-1800s and came to the United States, and shows the broad history and impact of Irish immigrants and their descendants on American society. It was produced by American Focus, Inc., is 111 minutes long, and is distributed by PBS Video (1 800 344-3337).

"New Immigration Backlash," (1995) looks at current immigration trends and the public's growing anti-immigration sentiments, and debates economic and social issues. It is adapted from a Phil Donahue program, is 28 minutes long, and is distributed by Films For the Humanities & Sciences (800 257-5126).

"Destination: America," (1993) a nine-part series examining immigration from Europe to the United States. Two parts broadly cover the history of this immigration and look at political, social, and economic issues. Each of the other seven parts features the settlement of specific group in the U.S.: the Irish in Boston, Norwegians in the Midwest, Jews in New York, Chicago's Polish community, as well as the Italians, Germans, and British immigrants. Each part is 52 minutes long and is distributed by Films For the Humanities & Sciences (800 257-5126).

4. **Songs**. American residents' feelings towards immigrants have often surfaced in popular songs, and frequently these have contained more negative than positive sentiments and beliefs. Unflattering images were presented in old songs such as Bret Harte's "The Heathen Chinee" (late 1800s) or Bob Miller's "I Break-a da Stones" (early 1900s). You and your students are more likely to know of, or want to hear, lyrics of more recent artists who have incorporated immigrant themes. Bob Dylan sings "I Pity the Poor Immigrant" (on the album "John Wesley Harding"), Tom Petty wails that "You don't have to live like a refugee," (on the album "Damn the Torpedoes"), Ice Cube raps a vulgar warning to Korean immigrant store owners ("Black Korea" on the album "Death Certificate," and Genesis mimics an "illegal alien" in a song of that title. Since these songs can be interpreted in several ways teachers should be careful in presenting them and open to more than one point of view.

5. **Black Perspectives on Immigration**. Since most published observations and reactions to immigrants in the U.S. have been made by whites, you may want to broaden your own and your class's perspective to include African Americans' opinions on immigration. Some recent survey data on this is available (see section 4 below), but a more comprehensive treatment has been written by Lawrence H. Fuchs in "The Reactions of Black Americans to Immigration" (in Immigration Reconsidered, edited by Virginia Yans-McLaughlin [Oxford University Press, 1990, pp.293-314]). He documents how, at different points in time, blacks' attitudes reflected a complex mix of

humanitarian compassion for refugees and immigrants, a desire for political coalition building with other ethnic minorities, fear that immigrants take jobs away from blacks, and resentment over immigrants having rights that at the time were denied to blacks. Award winning novelist Toni Morrison also speaks out on immigration in an essay titled, "On the backs of blacks," in Arguing Immigration, edited by Nicolaus Mills (Simon & Schuster, 1994). Sociologist Roy Simon Bryce-Laporte has a special perspective on this issue, since he is both black and an immigrant; his most recent writing on black immigrants is "Voluntary Immigration and Continuing Encounters between Blacks: The Post-Quincentenary Challenge," in the November 1993 issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (v. 530).

F. Other Useful Sources of **Sociological Research** and Information:

The Dillingham Commission Report. 1911. Officially known as Report of the United States Immigration Commission, this is a massive 42 volume study of immigrants in the U.S. around the beginning of the 20th Century. It examines housing, economic issues, health, education and many more topics. Readers should be cautioned against an uncritical acceptance of many of the Dillingham Commission's key findings and conclusions; anyone consulting this report should also read Oscar Handlin's discussion and critique of it, published as "Old Immigrants and New" in Race and Nationality in American Life, Oscar Handlin (Doubleday Anchor, 1957, pp. 74-110).

A classic sociological analysis of the immigrants of this earlier era is Old World Traits, Transplanted, by W.I. Thomas, R.E. Park and H.A. Miller (Harper Brothers, 1921).

The best short history of pre-1960s U.S. immigration is American Immigration, by Maldwyn A. Jones (University of Chicago Press, 1960).

For more recent research and information on social, economic, and cultural aspects of contemporary immigration to the U.S., some good sources are:

Bryce-Laporte, Roy Simon. (ed.) 1980. Sourcebook on the New Immigration. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books. One of the first books to examine the development and significance of post-1965 immigration; over forty articles cover immigration policy and immigrant community life, adaptations, and ethnic identity.

Chiswick, Barry R. and Teresa A. Sullivan. 1995. "The New Immigrants." In Reynolds Farley (ed.), State of the Union: America in the 1990s, Volume 2: Social Trends, pp. 211-270. A clear description of demographic aspects of current U.S. immigration, as well as

immigrants' citizenship and language status, social and economic characteristics, based on 1990 U.S. Census data and recent INS data.

Gold, Steven J. 1992. Refugee Communities: A Comparative Field Study. Newbury Park: Sage Publications. An ethnographic study of Vietnamese and Russian Jewish refugees in San Francisco and Los Angeles; it focuses on community, family, and business issues and has a good discussion of the distinctions between refugees and immigrants.

Haines, David W. (ed.) 1985. Refugees as Immigrants: Cambodians, Laotians, and Vietnamese in America. Totawa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield. A useful collection of articles based on survey research about how refugees from Southeast Asia are adapting to the U.S.

Lamphere, Louise, Alex Stepick and Guillermo Grenier. 1994. Newcomers in the Workplace: Immigrants and the Restructuring of the U.S. Economy. Temple University Press. Case studies describing and analyzing immigrants' participation in labor force in three areas: Philadelphia, Miami, and Garden City (Kansas).

Lamphere, Louise. (ed.) 1992. Structured Diversity: Ethnographic Perspectives on the New Immigration. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Excellent essays that examine the relations between recent Asian and Hispanic immigrants and established residents. They focus on work, housing, schools, and politics in Miami, Houston, Garden City (Kansas), Monterey Park, and Chicago's Albany Park neighborhood.

Mills, Nicolaus. (ed.) 1994. Arguing Immigration: The Debate Over the Changing Face of America. Simon & Schuster. Lively, fresh, and controversial statements, points of view, and proposals that are central to the on-going debate over immigration in the United States.

Min, Pyong Gap. (ed.) 1995. Asian Americans:Contemporary Trends and Issues. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Overview of issues facing Asian Americans and individual chapters about Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian Americans.

Pedraza-Bailey, Silvia. 1985. Political and Economic Migrants in America: Cubans and Mexicans. Austin: University of Texas Press. An examination and comparison of immigrants from Cuba and Mexico.

Portes, Alejandro and Robert L. Bach. 1985. Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States. Berkeley: University of California Press. A thorough, well documented comparison of two large Latino immigrant groups.

Portes, Alejandro and Ruben G. Rumbaut. 1990. Immigrant America: A Portrait. Berkeley: University of California Press. Thorough presentation of theories and information on the causes of immigration to the U.S., illegal/undocumented immigration, the occupational and economic adaptation of immigrants, and their political participation, mental health, acculturation, education, and language usage patterns.

Two recent books of special interest to teachers will be:

McDonnell, Lorraine M. and Paul T. Hill. 1993. Newcomers in American Schools. The RAND Corporation. Investigates the ways public school systems are responding to the presence and educational needs of immigrant students, and makes some policy recommendations. School systems studied are New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Dade County, Houston, San Francisco, Fairfax County (VA), and Visalia (CA).

Stewart, David W. 1993. Immigration and Education. Lexington Books. Good overview of immigration trends, the basics of immigration law, federal policy and law covering immigrants, refugees and education, language issues, and many common problems teachers and school administrators face.

Research Projects, Discussion, and Critical Thinking

1. As a class project have students gather oral histories based on interviews that they do with immigrants in the community. Decide on a good style or format to present it in (e.g., individual biographical cases or reorganized around certain issues or themes), and have the class produce a booklet or a videotape in which the immigrants' stories are presented.

2. Get your students to think about the mass media (mainly television shows and commercials, radio, movies, and popular music), and ask them to think of instances where immigrants make an appearance. Ask them to describe how these immigrants are portrayed to see what if any stereotypes exist, and then discuss them (e.g., is the immigrant made the butt of a joke, are they portrayed sympathetically, made to look hard-working, foolish, honest, untrustworthy?). Let them pretend to be a director or producer of a show or ad and see how they would incorporate an immigrant(s) into their mass media product.

3. Do a class research project on the image of immigrants in the mass media. Systematically observe and then analyze television shows (by type: news, commercials, comedy shows, adventure shows, etc.) (or another type of media) to see how immigrants and refugees are presented to the public. What messages and information are transmitted about immigrants, and how accurate are they? For suggestions on how to do this type of project, most sociology research methods textbooks have a section on "content analysis" which should be quite helpful.

4. Have the class consider and discuss the following hypothetical situation and questions: What if, for political or economic reasons, sometime in the next two years they had to move to a foreign country (one in which English was not widely spoken), live and remain there, and could not come back to the U.S. unless conditions here changed greatly? Get them to

say what they would consciously (or unconsciously) take with them from America to help establish a new life, and also what they would leave behind or drop once they settled in? Who would they look for as friends, what holidays would they celebrate, how open would they be to adopting the culture of their new land? How do they think they would respond to prejudice or discrimination against "immigrants from the U.S." in their new land? If they had kids there, would they raise them to have any American identity or would they want them to identify only with their new nation?

Section 2: Immigration to the United States: The Long View

Historians have divided immigration to what is now the United States into a variety of periods, often based on important events and/or large shifts in the national origins of many immigrants.

Ancient: Over 20,000 years ago ancestors of Native Americans (American Indians) migrated from northern Asia via a "land bridge" across to Alaska and gradually moved south, eventually populating North, Central, and South America.

Colonial: Roughly the 1500s to 1799; settlers from colonizing nations of Spain, France, England, the Netherlands arrived; Scotch and Scotch-Irish also arrived; taken against their will and brought to America were Africans.

"Old Immigration": Roughly 1800 to 1879; immigration came chiefly from (1) Northern and Western Europe (Ireland, Great Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, France) and (2) China; through expansion and conquest (Mexican-American War) the U.S. gained California and most of the Southwest, including the Mexican and Indian people living there.

"New Immigration": Roughly 1880 to 1924; immigration from "old" era continued but was overshadowed by immigrants coming chiefly from (1) Southern and Eastern Europe (Italy, Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, Romania, Greece), (2) Mexico, (3) Japan, and (4) Turkey.

Restriction: Roughly 1925 through 1966; immigration levels were lowered by federal law; the law also set quotas on the number of immigrants each nation could send; for most of this period these quotas (a) favored the nations of northern and western Europe; (b) excluded immigrants from most nations in Asia and Africa; (c) gave relatively low quotas for immigration from countries in southern and eastern Europe, and (d) left immigration from other nations in the western hemisphere unregulated. Shortly after WW II limited numbers of refugees and displaced persons were allowed to enter the U.S from Europe. During the 1950s and early 1960s people fleeing communist nations were allowed entry (bringing in Hungarians and Cubans).

Contemporary: Roughly 1967 to the present; revisions in immigration law went into effect. These ended the system of quotas for specific nations and replaced it with a system that made family (kinship) and to a lesser extent, occupational skills, the determining factors in who is allowed to immigrate. The immigration in this period has come chiefly from (a) Mexico, (b) Asia (China, Philippines, Korea, Vietnam, and India), and (c) several Caribbean islands.

Some of the ethnic diversity of the streams of immigration into the U.S. can be seen by choosing a decade from a few periods and looking at how many immigrants arrived from different countries. Table 1 shows the five countries from which the largest flows of migration came during decades in the "old," "new," "post-WW II," and "contemporary" periods (it also shows the total number of immigrants who came to the U.S. from <u>all</u> other countries in those decades).

Table 1

U.S. Immigrants' Countries of Origin (5 Largest) for Selected Decades[1]

1981-1990		1961-1970	
Mexico	1,653,300	Mexico	443,300
Philippines	495,300	Canada	286,700
Vietnam	401,400	Cuba	256,800
China	373,600	Great Britain	230,500
Korea	338,800	Italy	206,700
All Countries	7,338,100	All Countries	3,321,700

1901-1910		1841-1850	
Austria-Hungary	2,145,266	Ireland	780,719
Italy	2,045,877	Germany	434,626
Russia	1,597,306	Great Britain	267,044
Great Britain	525,950	France	77,262
Germany	341,498	Canada	41,723
All Countries	8,795,386	All Countries	1,713,251

Sources: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1992, table 8; L. Dinner- stein & D.M. Reimers (eds.), Ethnic Americans; T. Kessner & B.B. Caroli, Today's Immigrants.

[1] Totals refer to legal immigrants; for 1981-1990 and 1961-1970 country of origin refers to the immigrants' country of birth, for earlier years it is the country the immigrant left immediately before coming to the U.S.; immigration from Mexico and Canada was not fully reported prior to 1908.

Over the years, the flow of immigration into the United States has varied greatly. Some decades or periods had very large numbers of immigrants, others had relatively few. Figure 1 illustrates this fluctuation for each decade since 1830. From it you can see why writers in the 1940s through the mid-1970s often called the years 1881-1920 the era of "mass immigration." You can also see that the past two decades have seen a rise in immigration to levels that approach the numbers seen during that earlier era of mass migration. This graph is based shows the number of legal immigrants. If illegal or undocumented immigrants were included then the number for 1981-'90 would equal or exceed the level of immigration in 1901-'10. For definitions of legal and illegal immigrants, as well as other common terms, see pages 19-20.

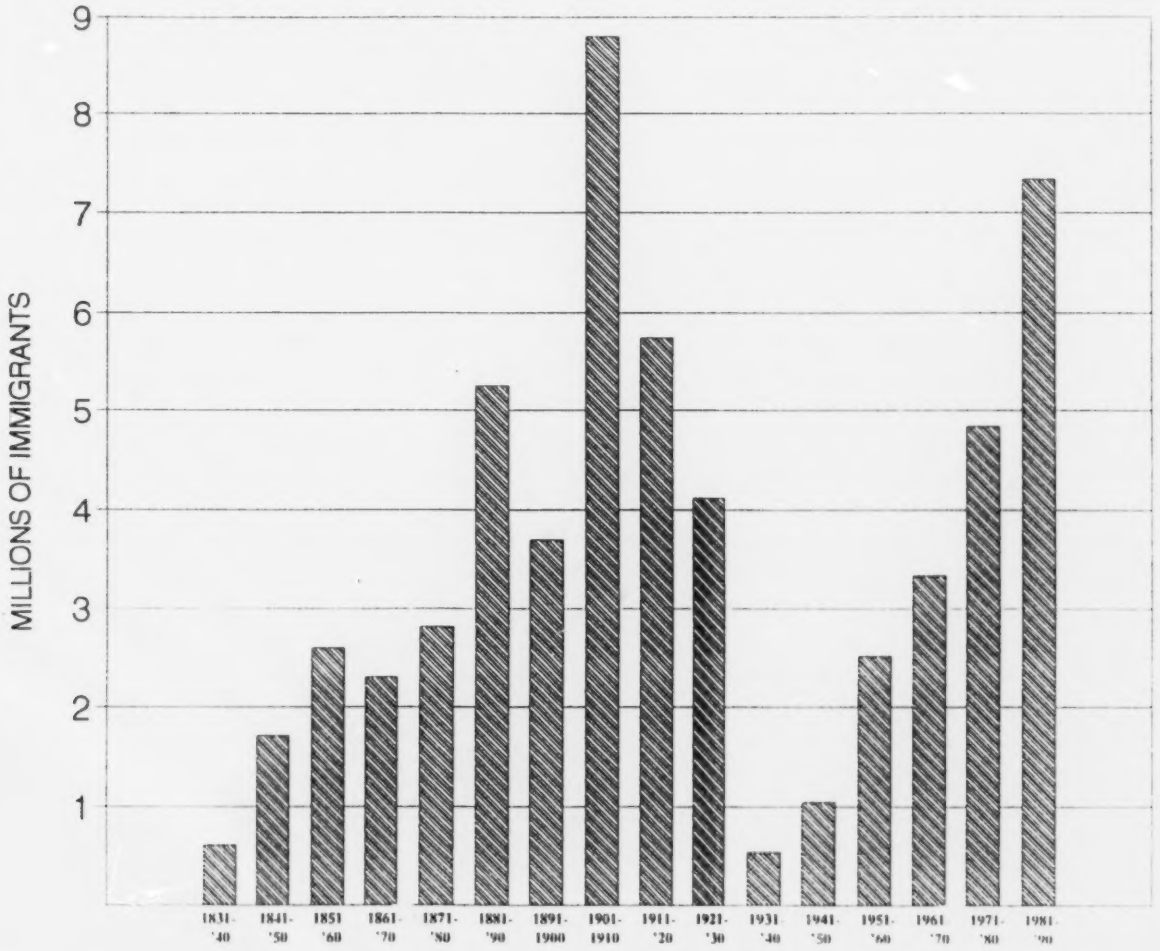

FIGURE 1 IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1831-1990

Basic Skills and Critical Thinking

1. Facing Nativism, Racism, and Discrimination in U.S. Immigration Policy

Historically, political leaders of the U.S. and the American public have not been equally accepting of immigrants from all over the world. Do they appear to be today? People with some political orientations, or from some geographic areas, or some racial-ethnic groups seem to be less welcome than others. You may wish to debate, discuss, and explore this important issue with students by raising questions such as these:

a. Was there, is there, or should there be, a big gap between the idea expressed in the famous words engraved on the Statue of Liberty ("Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breath free ...") and our country's official policies and popular attitudes towards immigrants wishing to come to the U.S.?

b. What accounts for differences in the way the U.S. is treating refugees from Haiti, Cuba, Bosnia, the former Soviet Union, and Southeast Asia? How do you think factors like international politics and geography, humanitarian sentiments, racial-ethnic prejudices, internal U.S. political considerations, and economic conditions fit together in an explanation.

Plenty of resource material exists to help you prepare for a class session on this issue. Important immigration laws and policies you will need to know about are: *the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882*, the *"Gentleman's Agreement"* between the U.S. and Japan in 1907, *Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1924* (also known as the *Johnson-Reed Act*), the *Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952 (McCarran-Walter Act)*, the *1965 Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments*, the *Refugee Act of 1980*, the *Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986*, and the *Immigration Act of 1990*. For a concise one page summary of these see, Michael Fix & Jeffrey S. Passel, Immigration and Immigrants (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1994; p. 11). Here are a few sources I think are especially useful:

Appel, John J. & Selma Appel. n.d. "The Distorted Image: Stereotype and Caricature in American Popular Graphics, 1850-1922." NY: Anti-Defamation League. A set of slides, with narration (about 45 minutes) and a booklet that show negative stereotypes in the mass media; the material focuses on several immigrant groups (Irish, Chinese, Jewish) and African Americans.

Cafferty, Pastora S.J., Barry R. Chiswick, Andrew M. Greeley & Teresa A. Sullivan. 1983. "A Capsule View of American Immigration Legislation." (Chapter 3 of their book, The Dilemma of American Immigration, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books). A clear discussion of what our immigration policies have been up to 1982 and the underlying social and political reasons behind them.

Church, George J. 1993. "Send Back Your Tired, Your Poor ..." Time June 21: 26-27. Reviews recent negative reactions of Americans to refugees and illegal workers attempting to enter the U.S.

Higham, John. 1975. Strangers in the Land. NY: Atheneum. A fine source for material about American attitudes towards immigrants, covering the years 1860 to 1925.

Kitano, Harry H.L. & Roger Daniels. 1988. Asian Americans. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall. Discusses how immigration laws affected Asians and gives an overview of several Asian American groups' settlement and experiences in the U.S.

Lyman, Stanford M. 1974. "The Anti-Chinese Movement in America, 1785-1910" (Chapter 4 of his book, Chinese Americans, NY: Random House.) A review of the many kinds of negative responses Americans have had towards Chinese immigrants.

Pavalko, Ronald M. 1980. "Racism and the New Immigration: A Reinterpretation of the Assimilation of White Ethnics in American Society." Sociology and Social Research 65 (1): 56-77. Discussion of native born Americans' attitudes and reactions to arrival of large numbers of immigrants from Southern, Eastern and Central Europe.

Portes, Alejandro & Alex Stepick. 1985. "Unwelcome Immigrants: the Labor Market Experiences of 1980 (Mariel) Cuban and Haitian Refugees in South Florida." American Sociological Review 50 (Aug): 493-514. Empirical research on employment opportunities and problems of two recent refugee groups.

2. Presenting Data Clearly

Sometimes the meaning of columns of numbers, such as those in Table 1, is not easily grasped by everyone, and another visual image, like a bar graph (see Figure 1) or a pie chart can be a big help. Being able to take quantitative data and display it in a form that is clear and easy to understand, and being able to give a written or spoken summary or interpretation of it are valuable skills. You can help give students these abilities, and promote a more thorough understanding of immigration trends, by developing a few graphing exercises based on the data in the tables of this booklet. Examples might include:

a. Pie charts for immigration in the four decades shown in Table 1. This would enable students to clearly see some things not immediately apparent from the raw data in the tables. For example, the top five countries of origin in the more recent decades account for a much lower portion of all U.S. immigrants than the top five countries did in the earlier decades; and even though more the actual number of immigrants from Great Britain was smaller in the 1840s than in the 1960s and 1900s, British immigrants made up a larger portion of all U.S. immigrants in the 1840s than in the later years.

Note: If students in your class have access to computers, they may have graphic programs that can churn out pie charts and other graphs if you just input the data, provide it with labels and a few other directions. If not, you can show them how to make pie charts by hand, the old fashioned way: for any decade convert the countries' immigration numbers to proportions, then multiply each proportion by 360 (the number of degrees in a circle), then get out your compass and protractor to draw a circle and measure out the right size for each "slice" (representing each country of origin, with the remainder being "all other countries").

b. Graphs or pie charts to display U.S. immigration data for specific countries or continents of origin in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Use the table reprinted as Table 2 below in Section 3 to create projects for students or the whole class to work on.

3. Thinking Critically About the Size of Today's Immigration

"The numbers don't lie." "The numbers speak for themselves." "Numbers don't speak for themselves, people speak for and about numbers." "You can find a statistic to prove just about anything you want to prove." These, or similar comments, are often heard in debates about immigration or other controversial topics. Many sociologists contend that numbers or statistics "don't speak for themselves" and must be interpreted; moreover, different interpretations or "spins" on the same numbers are likely if people look at them from different perspectives. Students ought to be taught how to look at immigration data from several perspectives and to be able to know when data are being used to bolster one point of view or neglect another.

Take, for example, the "simple fact" that when refugees and illegal immigration are included, the 1980s brought about 10 million immigrants into the U.S. -- more than any other decade in history. To people who are fearful or suspicious of immigrants, that bit of information may be enough to make them call for a drastic reduction in immigration. But to people who are worried that the size or quality of the native-born U.S. labor force may not be sufficient to increase economic productivity or support an aging population in the future, 10 million immigrants in the 1980s or 1990s may not seem like too many. Clearly, our personal concerns, political agenda, and material interests can affect the conclusions we draw from immigration statistics, and they also affect the kinds of statistics we decide to look at.

Here are a few more statistics about the volume of immigration into the U.S. They are useful in getting students to put the numbers into different contexts and see them from different perspectives. Also included are some questions you can raise in class about these numbers to get students to think critically about them.

a. *Absolute Numbers versus Percentages*. Due to the rising level of immigration over the past two decades, the actual number of foreign-born people living in the U.S. is at an all-time high (19.7 million in 1990, and estimated at 22 million in 1994). Does this mean that foreign-born people now make up an unusually high percentage of the U.S. population? The answer, no, surprises some people, if they forget that the

native-born population expanded greatly during the middle third of this century. Currently, about 8% of the total U.S. population is foreign-born; this is much lower than it was in the years 1870-1920, when about 15% of the whole U.S. population was foreign born. Of course, if you go back even farther, to the founding of our nation, a much higher percentage of the population was foreign-born.

Related Points:

For individual states there is, and always has been, wide variation around the U.S. total percentage foreign-born. The 1990 Census found California and New York with the highest foreign-born populations, 22% and 16%, respectively. At the other end, over a dozen states now have populations with less than 2% foreign-born.

Not all foreign-born people living in the U.S. are recent immigrants (of the 19.7 million foreign-born people living in the U.S. in 1990, a large amount [44%] entered the country in the 1980s, but the majority came in earlier decades).

b. *Ratio of Immigrants to the total U.S. population.* Compared to earlier times in U.S. history, the number of immigrants who arrived in the 1980s was low if you consider the total or base size of the U.S. population. In the 1980s, we had about 3 immigrants per year for every 1,000 U.S. residents. While this was higher than this ratio was from the 1930s through the 1970s, it is much lower than the early 1900s (when it was 10 immigrants per year for every 1,000 U.S. residents), and is lower than it was for nearly all of the 1800s. (Although some books refer to this ratio as a "rate" of immigration, technically it is not, and it counts immigrants in both the ratio's numerator and the denominator).

c. *Questions to consider.*

Do you think the size of the immigrant or foreign-born population in the U.S. is an important issue?

If it is, in what ways is it important, and who is it most important to?

If size matters, which measures of size (absolute numbers, percentages, ratios; national or state figures) are useful for what purposes?

How does the U.S. currently compare to other countries in the world, in terms of: (1) the number of immigrants who enter; (2) the percentage of the population that is foreign-born; (3) the ratio of immigrants entering each year to the number of residents already living there? [You can find data to help you or your students answer these questions in the United Nations' Demographic Yearbook, 1989 (NY: United Nations, 1991). Tables 32, 27, and 5 will be useful in answering these questions.]

Section 3. A Closer Look at Present Day Immigration

From Figure 1 you can see that the number of legal immigrants coming to the U.S. during the 1980s (7.3 million) was surpassed in only one other decade – 1901 to 1910 (when 8.8 million immigrants arrived). However, researchers Michael Fix and Jeffrey Passel (in Immigration and Immigrants: Setting the Record Straight, Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 1993) estimate that if we add in refugees, illegal immigrants, special agricultural workers, and people granted political asylum, then during the 1980s the number of newly entering Americans was actually 10 million, or about one million more than during the first decade of the 20th Century. Data for the early 1990s suggests we are on a record-breaking pace this decade, with about 1,000,000 immigrants per year settling in the U.S. Naturally, not all immigrants who settle in the U.S. actually stay, in fact, each year about 200,000 former immigrants move out of the United States. Fix and Passel estimate that currently, net immigration is responsible for about one-third of the U.S.'s total annual population growth (the remaining growth comes from having more births than deaths in the general population).

People are often interested in seeing where immigrants to the United States are coming from. Table 2, taken from the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1994 gives a complete picture, with data for the year 1992, plus totals for the previous two decades. As you can see, Mexico, by far was the largest source of immigration in 1992, followed by these other regions or countries: the Caribbean, Vietnam, the Philippines, Central America, the former Soviet Union, mainland China, and India.

Table 2. Immigrants to the U.S., by Country of Birth: 1971 to 1992
[In Thousands. For fiscal years ending in the year shown]

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1971-80, total	1981-90, total	1991	1992	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1971-80, total	1981-90, total	1991	1992
All countries	**4,493.3**	**7,338.1**	**1,827.2**	**974.0**	Philippines	360.2	495.3	63.6	61.0
Europe [1]	**801.3**	**705.6**	**135.2**	**145.4**	Syria	13.3	20.6	2.8	2.9
France	17.8	23.1	2.5	3.3	Thailand	44.1	64.4	7.4	7.1
Germany	66.0	70.1	6.5	9.9	Turkey	18.6	20.9	2.5	2.5
Greece	93.7	29.1	2.1	1.9	Vietnam	179.7	401.4	55.3	77.7
Ireland	14.1	32.6	4.8	12.2	**North America** [1]	**1,845.0**	**3,125.0**	**1,211.0**	**384.0**
Italy	130.1	32.9	2.6	2.6	Canada	114.8	119.2	13.5	15.2
Poland	43.6	97.4	19.2	25.5	Mexico	637.2	1,653.3	946.2	213.8
Portugal	104.5	40.0	4.5	2.7	Caribbean [1]	759.8	892.7	140.1	97.4
Romania	17.5	38.9	8.1	6.5	Barbados	20.9	17.4	1.5	1.1
Soviet Union, former [2]	43.2	84.0	57.0	43.6	Cuba	276.8	159.2	10.3	11.8
Armenia	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	6.1	Dominican Republic	148.0	251.8	41.4	42.0
Azerbaijan	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1.6	Haiti	58.7	140.2	47.5	11.0
Belarus	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	3.2	Jamaica	142.0	213.8	23.8	18.9
Moldova	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1.7	Trinidad and Tobago	61.8	39.5	8.4	7.0
Russia	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	8.9	Central America [1]	132.4	458.7	111.1	57.6
Ukraine	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	14.4	El Salvador	34.4	214.6	47.4	26.2
Uzbekistan	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1.7	Guatemala	25.6	87.9	25.5	10.5
Spain	30.0	15.8	1.8	1.6	Honduras	17.2	49.5	11.5	8.6
United Kingdom	123.5	142.1	13.9	20.0	Nicaragua	13.0	44.1	17.8	8.9
Yugoslavia	42.1	19.2	2.7	2.6	Panama	22.7	29.0	4.2	2.8
Asia [1]	**1,633.8**	**2,817.4**	**358.5**	**357.0**	**South America** [1]	**284.4**	**455.9**	**79.9**	**55.3**
Afghanistan	2.0	26.6	2.9	2.7	Argentina	25.1	25.7	3.9	3.9
Cambodia	8.4	116.6	3.3	2.6	Brazil	13.7	23.7	8.1	4.8
China: Mainland	[3]202.5	[3]388.8	33.0	38.9	Chile	17.6	23.4	2.8	1.9
Taiwan	(Z)	(Z)	13.3	16.3	Colombia	77.6	124.4	19.7	13.2
Hong Kong	47.5	63.0	10.4	10.5	Ecuador	50.2	56.0	10.0	7.3
India	176.8	261.9	45.1	36.8	Guyana	47.5	95.4	11.7	9.1
Iran	46.2	154.8	19.6	13.2	Peru	29.1	64.4	16.2	9.9
Iraq	23.4	19.6	1.5	4.1	**Africa** [1]	**91.5**	**192.3**	**36.2**	**27.1**
Israel	26.6	36.3	4.2	5.1	Egypt	25.5	31.4	5.6	3.6
Japan	47.9	43.2	5.0	11.0	Ethiopia	(NA)	27.2	5.1	4.6
Jordan	29.6	32.6	4.3	4.0	Nigeria	8.8	35.3	7.9	4.6
Korea	272.0	338.8	26.5	19.4	Other countries [4]	37.3	41.9	6.3	5.2
Laos	22.6	145.6	10.0	8.7	Australia	14.3	13.9	1.7	2.2
Lebanon	33.8	41.6	6.0	5.8					
Pakistan	31.2	61.3	20.4	10.2					

NA Not available. [1] Includes countries not shown separately. [2] Includes other republics and unknown republics, not shown separately. [3] Data for Taiwan included with China: Mainland. [4] Includes New Zealand and unknown countries.
Source of tables 7 and 8: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Statistical Yearbook*, annual, and releases.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Certain places in the United States are very attractive destinations for immigrants. During the 1980s, over half of all immigrants settled in just two states: California (receiving 38% of all immigrants) and New York (receiving 14% of all immigrants). Most immigrants settle in metropolitan areas, not small towns or rural places. When they give their intended destinations, a few metropolitan areas are most popular among immigrants. For example, of those arriving in 1991, the ten most frequently listed areas of destination were: Los Angeles-Long Beach, New York City, Chicago, San Diego, Anaheim, Miami, Houston, Riverside, Dallas, and Washington DC. Nearly half (46%) of all immigrants indicated they were going to live in one of those ten metropolitan areas.

Frequently Used Terms Pertaining to Immigrants

A number of special terms and statuses are used to describe different kinds of immigrants now admitted to the United States. Since many people are unaware of or confused about them, a brief explanation of them may be helpful.

By far, most immigrants are admitted to the U.S. under legally recognized statuses. The largest category are those granted the legal status of "***permanent residents***." They are allowed to obtain what is commonly called a "green card" (a document that entitles them to work for pay). After five years of continuous residence in the U.S., they are eligible to apply for citizenship, and if they choose to do so and complete the "naturalization" process they become citizens of the United States. The U.S. admits about 700,000 people per year as legal permanent residents, and, according to Fix and Passel, in doing so it puts more immigrants on this type of citizenship track than do all other countries combined. Most immigrants admitted as legal permanent residents are family relatives of U.S. citizens (native born or naturalized) or are people granted admission based on their having useful occupational skills or other economic considerations (e.g., professionals with advanced degrees, skilled workers, wealthy investors).

A growing category of immigrants are those admitted for humanitarian reasons -- "***refugees***," "***asylees***," and those with "***temporary protected status***." A ***Refugee***, as defined in the Refugee Act of 1980, is a "person who is unwilling or unable to return to his country of nationality or habitual residence because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." In most cases refugees live outside their homeland and wish to resettle and live in the U.S. (or another hospitable nation). The number of refugees admitted to the U.S. each year is decided in discussions between the President and Congress, and in the early 1990s has been between 100,000 and 120,000. ***Asylees***, are similar to refugees in that they are foreign-born and fear persecution in their "home nation," but they are already living in the U.S. (legally or illegally) and request "asylum" -- permission to remain in the U.S. because they are likely to be persecuted if they are forced to return to their homeland. Requests for asylum take the form of petitions, each of which must be judged on an individual basis. In the early 1990s the number of approved petitions for asylum ranged from under 5,000 to a little over 20,000 per year (though a backlog of over 300,000 unadjudicated cases now exist, and there is controversy about

the whole situation since rarely has a denied petitioner ever been deported). People who are granted "***temporary protected status***" are from certain nations or regions where war or natural disaster has produced tremendous devastation. About 70,000 people per year entered the U.S. under this status in the early 1990s.

A few other special categories of legal residents exist. For example, in the early 1990s each year about 15,000 ***Amerasians*** (many are children born to U.S. servicemen and Vietnamese women) were admitted. Also, the 1990 Immigration Act created a new category, called "***Diversity***" immigrants to assist the entry of immigrants from countries that recently have not sent many immigrants to the U.S. (e.g., several European countries), and in 1992 about 34,000 immigrants of this type arrived.

Another large category are the ***illegal*** or ***undocumented*** immigrants (people who enter the U.S. without inspection by the Immigration and Naturalization service or who use false documents to obtain entry, or who enter legally but subsequently violate the terms of their visa). Current estimates cited by Fix and Passel are that illegal immigration creates a net annual increase of about 250,000 people, and that the total illegal immigrant population in the U.S. was about 3.2 million in 1992 (about 13% of the total foreign-born population). Many people believe that nearly all the undocumented immigrants are from Mexico, but this is not true. Fix and Passel report that 31% of the illegal population is Mexican; an equal percentage is from Central America and the Caribbean, 10% are from various European nations, another 10% is from Asia, and the remainder comes from Canada, Africa, and South America.

In general, foreign-born people living in the U.S. on a temporary basis as students, traveling business persons, diplomats, speakers, artists, etc. are not considered immigrants.

Discussion and Critical Thinking

1. Why do you suppose California and New York are such popular destinations for immigrants? What are some of the pros and cons of living in a state with either very many other immigrants or relatively few immigrants?

2. Be aware of, and teach your students to avoid, the common tendency to make a total distinction between "immigrants" and "U.S. citizens" in discussions or debates about job competition or use of welfare. These are not mutually exclusive categories -- via the naturalization process a person can be both an immigrant and a U.S. citizen. In fact, in 1990, one-third of the foreign- born population in the U.S. were citizens (and as such have the same civil and legal rights as native-born citizens, except for not being allowed to be the President of the U.S.).

3. How important or valid is it to distinguish "refugee" and "immigrant" situations? In what ways, if any, do the actual life circumstances and life chances of refugees in the U.S. differ from those of immigrants? Or is it possible that no real differences exist

and these terms are just artificial distinctions made by bureaucratic government authorities? (For help in understanding this issue, see Steven J. Gold, Refugee Communities (cited above) and Jeremy Hein (1993), "Refugees, Immigrants, and the State," Annual Review of Sociology 19: 43-59.

Section 4. Controversies About the Impact of Immigration

Immigration is a very contentious issue for government policy makers and the general public. Some individuals or groups want to allow a large and diverse immigrant population to continue entering the U.S.; others disagree, either arguing for greater selectivity or for drastic numerical reductions. Public opinion surveys taken in the early 1990s suggest that about 60% of the American public favors a decrease in the number of immigrants admitted. Among other things, those who favor maintaining current high levels of immigration point to the large number of Nobel Prizes and awards/achievements in art or music that immigrant Americans have won, or point to parts of older American cities or suburbs that immigrants have recently helped revitalize. Those against high immigration are more likely to mention immigrants who plant terrorist bombs, commit other crimes, or do not learn how to speak English. Perhaps the most controversial issues in the debate, however, revolve around two questions: (a) to what extent are immigrants taking jobs that would otherwise go to Americans who have been here a long time?; and (b) are immigrants becoming a great burden on the rest of the tax-paying community as a result of their use of welfare or other publicly supported social services? We provide information about and discussion of both issues in this section.

A. Immigrants and Job Competition: Five Points of View

1. ***The Broad Sweeping Generalization: "The jobs that immigrants hold are jobs taken away from American citizens."***

In its most extreme form, this idea is expressed by some people with anti-immigrant sentiments as "every job held by an immigrant is one less job that a U.S. citizen can hold."

The statement above overlooks several important facts. First, many jobs held by immigrants are created by immigrants to provide goods or services for immigrants, and so these jobs simply would not exist if the immigrants were not here. Second, since immigrants are also consumers of goods and services produced by non-immigrants, their presence creates or supports jobs for other people. Third, the immigrant/citizen dichotomy is flawed -- many immigrants are in fact U.S. citizens (through the naturalization process), so logically it makes little sense to say they take jobs from U.S. citizens. Fourth, in order for immigrants legally to hold certain jobs (often requiring special skill or expertise) their employer had to certify to the Department of Labor that no qualified American workers could be located in the local labor market, so (assuming that the employer is being truthful) in these cases it is wrong to say that the immigrant is "taking away" a job from a native-born American.

A less sweeping version of this position is that "it's the illegal immigrants who take jobs away from U.S. citizens." This is a very common opinion, often expressed by

political leaders. George Borjas quotes two members of the U.S. Congress (Shaw, a Democrat from Florida, and Burton, a Republican from Indiana), who said, respectively: "American workers ... are being discriminated against, because they are losing jobs to illegal aliens who are coming to this country and working for less." and "Part of the unemployment problem is that ... illegal workers take jobs from Americans. There are nine million Americans looking for work. There are five to twenty million illegal aliens." (quoted in George Borjas, 1990, Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy, p.89). We must note that Rep. Burton's statement wildly exaggerates the number of "illegal aliens" in the U.S. -- more accurate estimates place the number at that time as between three and six million. It can be argued that many illegal immigrants, as consumers of goods and services, help create jobs for other Americans; and it is widely claimed that many of the jobs taken by illegal workers are jobs that, because of their low pay or poor working conditions, other Americans are unwilling to take. This suggests that the number of jobs "taken away from Americans" by illegal immigrants is often over-stated. We should realize, however, that it is impossible to completely refute the claim that illegal immigrants take jobs from some U.S. citizens. For example, earlier this year the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raided an Olympic construction site in Atlanta and found 37 illegal immigrants working at jobs paying up to $13 an hour, and labor leaders say that native-born American workers would have taken these jobs if they had the opportunity ("Lucrative Olympic Construction Jobs Draw Illegal Alien Workers" Atlanta Journal, Jan. 14, 1995).

2. ***A Narrower But Still Negative Generalization: "Immigrants take jobs away from Americans in certain sectors of the economy."***

Many observers speak about specific occupations, industries, or economic sectors in which they believe large numbers of jobs have been "taken over" by immigrants. They claim that these are jobs that some American residents would be willing to perform, but employers instead prefer to hire immigrants either because of racial prejudice (e.g., they dislike black workers) or because immigrants will accept lower pay or poorer working conditions.

Examples:

a. Vernon Briggs, an economist, contends that the bracero program (which brought in agricultural laborers from Mexico) took jobs away from native born American farm workers and depressed wage rates for agricultural workers in the Southwest (see "Mexican Workers in the United States Labor Market: A Contemporary Dilemma" International Labour Review 112 [Nov, 1975]).

b. Stephen Steinberg, a sociologist, wrote, "However, the vast majority of the new jobs in the service sector do not require a great deal of education and skills. This is true not only of the lowest-paying jobs, but also of coveted jobs in major service industries, such as hospital and health care, hotels, restaurants, transportation, and sales. These are precisely the job areas where recent immigrants have made significant inroads, undoubtedly at the expense of blacks." ("The Underclass: A Case of Color Blindness." New Politics 2 [3, 1989]).

c. Frank Morris, member of the NAACP's National Advisory Board for Education, recently said "In California, we've already seen clear cases of displacement. What we're facing in many of these cities with high immigration are African-Americans already in great need. You look at construction sites, and every now and then you see direct confrontations. Construction crews were overlooking African-Americans and bringing in immigrants to rebuild Watts." (Darryl Fears, "Population shifts strain unity among minorities" Atlanta Journal & Constitution, July 24, 1994, F1-2.) Jack Miles' article, "Blacks vs. Browns: The Struggle for the Bottom Rung," (The Atlantic Monthly, November, 1992), also describes the competition for jobs between African Americans and immigrants from Latin America in Los Angeles.

d. Lyndon Wade, President of the Atlanta chapter of the Urban League had cement pouring and finishing in mind when he said "Increasingly these people [Hispanic immigrants] are taking a lot of the jobs that historically had gone to blacks." (Arthur Brice, "Recession sharpens edge of immigration debate" Atlanta Journal & Constitution, April 12, 1992:A1, A16.)

e. Sociological research done in New York and Chicago suggests that immigrants are moving into some economic niches ahead of African Americans born in the U.S. and that owners/managers of small manufacturing companies prefer immigrant workers over native-born blacks. (see Roger Waldinger, "Changing Ladders and Musical Chairs: Ethnicity and Opportunity in Post-Industrial New York" Politics and Society 15:4 [1986-87]; J. Kirschenman & K.M. Neckerman, "'We'd Love to Hire Them, But ...': The Meaning of Race for Employers," in C. Jencks & P.E. Peterson [eds.], The Urban Underclass, Brookings Institution, 1991; Bruce B. Williams, Black Workers in an Industrial Suburb: The Struggle Against Discrimination, Transaction Books, 1987).

f. Although we commonly hear the argument that immigrants take jobs away from "Americans" in less skilled or lower status occupations, sometimes it's applied to high skilled occupations. For example, when hospitals hire immigrant nurses,

when high-tech companies hire immigrant research scientists, or when universities hire foreign-born scholars as faculty members, some people complain that this means qualified long-time U.S. residents are being left unemployed or that less effort will be directed towards training or motivating U.S.-born people to develop skills in these fields.

3. ***The Denial of Negative Impact: "It's wrong or a gross exaggeration to say that immigrants are taking jobs away from Americans, either in general or in specific sectors of the economy."***

This point of view directly contradicts the first two above. It is usually made by researchers who have done empirical studies of unemployment rates in the native-born U.S. population and have compared metropolitan areas having many immigrants with those that have few immigrants. Their results typically show that the percentage of immigrants in the metropolitan area makes little or no difference on native-born Americans' unemployment rates (or on their wage levels).

Examples:

(a) George J. Borjas' summary of studies based on 1980 Census data found that immigrants have a negligible impact on American-born men's employment levels (black as well as white). He also found that immigrants have virtually no impact on native-born American men's wages and earnings. See Tables 5.2 and 5.1 in Friends or Strangers, NY: Basic Books, 1990.

(b) Maria Enchautegui's research based on 1990 Census data also found that after controlling for workers' social characteristics, black and Hispanic men in high-immigration metropolitan areas were not more likely to be jobless than black or Hispanic men living elsewhere (but white men in high-immigration areas were slightly more likely to be jobless than white men living elsewhere). See "The Effects of Immigration on the Wages and Employment of Black Males," Policy Discussion Paper PRIP-UI-25, The Urban Institute, 1993.

(c) Fix and Passel (Immigration and Immigrants, Chapter 4) summarize numerous studies that find that job displacement of native-born American workers by immigrants is numerically trivial, though they concede some displacement of unskilled workers may be occurring.

4. ***Affirming a Mixed Impact: "The presence of immigrant workers in the U.S. hurts some U.S.-born workers, but it also helps employment opportunities for many other U.S.-born workers."***

The viewpoints mentioned above only deal with the negative possibility -- they assert or deny that immigrants take jobs away from the native-born population. In contrast, this point of view says that while some native-born categories lose jobs to immigrants, others gain, and that it is often difficult to say whether, overall, the gains outweigh the losses.

Examples

Some observers accept the idea that low skilled U.S.-born workers lose jobs to immigrants, but then show that others gain jobs as a result of immigration. For example, Thomas Muller and Thomas J. Espenshade (The Fourth Wave: California's Newest Immigrants, Urban Institute Press, 1985, p. 102) say that while there is some competition between low-skill blacks and Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles (in food service, retail, building maintenance, and hotel service occupations), the presence of Mexican immigrants facilitates upward job movement of blacks in public service occupations (teachers, social workers, or other government jobs). They also indicate that immigrant labor helps keep many manufacturing plants operating in the U.S. instead of moving to low-wage countries, and this saves or increases native-born managers' and supervisors' jobs. In addition, jobs in businesses and services that cater to immigrants may add to the occupational possibilities of U.S.-born workers, for example, today market research on immigrant consumers' tastes and preferences is itself a growth industry.

5. ***Celebrating Much More Positive Than Negative Impacts: "The job gains and economic benefits that come with high immigration greatly exceed any negative effects."***

In this viewpoint immigration is said to do much more economic good than harm to the United States. Advocates of this position claim that high levels of immigration should be maintained not only for idealistic or humanitarian reasons, but also because it is in our own economic self-interest to do so.

Examples:

(a) Major business magazines, like Fortune and Business Week, claim that the U.S. will not have enough native-born workers next century either to support the large elderly population that will expect social security benefits, or to fill all the needed positions in the rapidly growing high-tech industries our economy will be depending on. They see immigrant workers as the solution to these potential problems.

(b) Thomas Muller, an economist, claims that immigrants make enormous economic contributions to American society, and he even argues that the decline of U.S. cities in the second half of the 20th Century was partly due to low levels of immigration imposed from the mid-1920s through the 1960s. He argues that native-born U.S. workers usually tend to be bumped up into better paying or higher skill/status jobs during periods of high migration (though he does concede that poor unskilled urban blacks may be a segment of the population that does not benefit in this way). See Immigrants and the American City, NY: New York University Press, 1993.

B. Use of Public Welfare by Immigrants

Over the past few years reports and accusations alleging that immigrants make heavy use of social services (e.g., health care, education, and public welfare) and claims that millions of tax dollars could be saved by eliminating illegal immigrants' access to these services have generated tremendous political controversy. The most obvious example of this is California's "Proposition 187" (described below), which attempts to prevent "illegal aliens" from obtaining most kinds of social services. It was approved by California voters in November, 1994, and other states are considering similar measures. Since this is such an important and high profile issue, it may help to clarify some issues and facts about immigrants and use of public welfare.

The treatment here will be brief, and for further analysis of this topic you can consult: Lief Jensen's The New Immigration: Implications for Poverty and Public Assistance Utilization (NY: Greenwood Press, 1989) and Chapter 5, "Immigrants and Public Sector Impacts," In Immigration and Immigrants: Setting the Record Straight by Michael Fix and Jeffrey S. Passel (The Urban Institute, 1994).

Teachers might find it useful to begin a discussion of this topic by asking the class to answer the following two questions:

1. Approximately what percentage of the native-born U.S. population receives cash benefits from public assistance (e.g., receives welfare payments from programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC] or Supplemental Security Income [SSI]) in a given year?

   a. more than 50%
   b. 35%
   c. 23%
   d. 12%
   e. less than 4%

2. Approximately what percentage of the immigrant population of the U.S. receives cash benefits from public assistance (e.g., receives welfare payments from programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC] or Supplemental Security Income [SSI] in a given year?

a. more than 50%
b. 35%
c. 23%
d. 12%
e. less than 4%

If your class is like most others, you will find that your students respond with higher estimates in question 2 than in question 1. In reality, however, the correct answer to both questions is choice "e." The 1990 U.S. Census found that in 1989, 3.6% of the immigrants and 3.7% of the native-born population received any cash assistance benefits from social welfare programs (see Barry R. Chiswick & Teresa A. Sullivan, "The New Immigrants" in State of the Union: America in the 1990s, Volume 2: Social Trends, edited by Reynolds Farley, [Russell Sage Foundation, 1995]).

Thus, one of the first points to be made in discussing the topic of immigration and welfare is that immigrants are no more likely than native-born people to be receiving "welfare checks." Only a small percentage of either category get welfare checks. Existing federal and state laws on the books (even before Proposition 187) prohibited illegal immigrants from receiving most kinds of direct welfare payments, and legal immigrants are prohibited from receiving cash assistance welfare for three to five years after their arrival.

Just as immigrants' receipt of "welfare checks" is often over-exaggerated in the public's mind, the Urban Institute reports that immigrants' receipt of other forms of public assistance is over-estimated and their contributions to the tax base is sometimes under-estimated. According to Michael Fix and Jeffrey Passel:

> "Contrary to the public's perception, when all levels of government are considered together, immigrants generate significantly more in taxes paid than they cost in services received. This surplus is unevenly distributed among different levels of government, however, with immigrants (and natives) generating a net surplus to the federal government, but a net cost to some states and most localities.... One of the myths often cited to support the contention that immigrants cost more than they contribute is that they are heavy users of welfare. The facts are very different. When refugees are excluded, it becomes clear that immigrants of working age are considerably less likely than natives of working age to receive welfare" (Fix & Passel, Immigration and Immigrants, pp. 57-58).

Muller and Espenshade (The Fourth Wave, Chapter 5) estimated the costs of providing health, education, public safety, recreation, and social services to households of native-born Americans

and Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles County and compared it to the tax revenues they produced for the state and local governments. They found that state and local governments lost money in providing these basic services to native-born people and to immigrants, but the loss was much greater for the Mexican immigrants (about $2,245 per household in 1980). They add, however, that immigrants who are single, working, and do not have children probably contribute more in taxes than it costs, per capita, to provide these services to them.

To illustrate some of the mistaken ideas about the alleged welfare costs of immigration, Fix and Passel cite two studies given much publicity by supporters of Proposition 187. These studies claim that:

a. Legal and illegal immigrants and their U.S. born-children cost Los Angeles County an estimated $947 million for health, education, and welfare expenses, but they contributed only $139 million in taxes to Los Angeles County (Los Angeles County, Internal Services Division, "Impact of Undocumented Persons and Other Immigrants on Costs, Revenues and Services in Los Angeles County: A Report Prepared for Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, 1992).

b. The net cost of immigration to the U.S. at all governmental levels is $42.5 billion (Donald Huddle, "The Cost of Immigration," Washington, DC: Carrying Capacity Network, 1993).

Fix and Passel contend that both of these findings are in error, mainly because of mistakes in the way the costs of immigrants are computed (overestimated) and the way they calculate the tax revenues contributed by immigrants (underestimated).

A second question you might ask students in your class is:

> In an average year, in which one of the following areas is the largest amount of money spent on immigrants and/or their children?
>
> a. health care
> b. education
> c. public housing
> d. recreational services
> e. cash-benefit welfare payments

The right answer here is **(b)** education -- Fix and Passel (p. 62) estimate that the costs of immigrants and their children in the public schools is about $11 billion a year. Local residents and school administrators often complain that they are having to pay too much of this money themselves, and that they ought to receive more educational assistance money from the state and federal governments. They may have a valid point, for research does indicate that in many urban areas of the U.S. a relatively large share of native-born Americans' and immigrants' tax revenues flow into federal and state coffers rather than to the local governments that provide

many of the services they rely on.

Fix and Passel argue that there are several positive results of this large expenditure on education. First, education can directly benefit immigrant students and children of immigrants. In addition, other members of society also benefit -- for instance, the money actually spent on immigrant education goes, to a large extent, to native-born teachers, school administrators, and other employees and contractors of the school system. Also, if these expenditures on education reduce illiteracy and teach useful skills, then immigrants are more likely to be productive and make cultural contributions to American society. However, many native-born parents with children in the public schools disapprove of having large numbers of immigrants in the schools. They feel that if immigrant children, especially children of illegal immigrants, were not in the schools, then their own kids would get a better education -- they'd have smaller classes with more individual attention from teachers, and with everyone able to speak English, teachers could move through the subject matter more quickly or teach at a more advanced level and make greater academic progress.

Opposition to having illegal immigrants in the schools has prompted efforts to bar them from getting an education. Long before Proposition 187 was passed, the state of Texas passed a law that prohibited illegal immigrants from attending public schools. But in a 1982 case (Plyler vs. Doe), the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated that law and said that illegal immigrant children are entitled to a public school education. Opponents of Prop 187 hope that ruling would stand up again, while supporters of Prop 187 hope that the current, more conservative Supreme Court, might overturn that earlier decision.

A third question for you to ask your students gets them to examine the issues dealt with in Proposition 187:

> Proposition 187 is intended to prevent illegal immigrants from attending public schools, bar them from getting welfare payments, unemployment insurance, and publicly funded health care (except emergency service). Which of the following statements about Proposition 187 do you agree with most? Which of them do you disagree with most?
>
> a. By making public health services unavailable to illegal immigrants Prop 187 will cause a rise in the number of cases of tuberculosis and other preventable communicable diseases, plus an increase in HIV/AIDs; these diseases will then spread beyond the illegal immigrant population to the general public.
> b. Prop 187 is not an anti-immigrant initiative, it's an anti-illegal immigrant initiative, and will only affect people who are violating U.S. immigration laws.
> c. Enforcement of Prop 187 will save the taxpayers of California about $2 to $5 billion per year.
> d. If Prop 187 is enforced, and adopted in many other states, it will make life so difficult and painful for illegal immigrants that many of those that are here will

decide to leave, and it will discourage other people from illegally entering the U.S.

e. If Prop prevents illegal immigrant children from going to school in the U.S., then it guarantees that tens of thousands of children will grow up uneducated, condemns them to a life of poverty, and many will support themselves by robbery and other crimes.

Unlike the multiple choice questions given on the preceding pages, this one has no single "right" answer, indeed no one knows what the impact of Proposition 187 will really be. Each of the statements given above is a claim made by either supporters or opponents of Proposition 187 and by considering and debating them students in your class can develop skills in critical thinking, analysis, and communication. Before discussing each statement, however, more information about Proposition 187 may be useful.

California's Proposition 187

Intent and Content of Proposition 187

The stated intent of Proposition 187 (also known as the "Save Our State" initiative) is to discourage illegal immigrants from remaining in California or coming to it. It attempts to do this by making it much harder to live there in two ways: (a) by denying illegal immigrants important health, educational, and social services and (b) by requiring that health care workers, school officials, social workers, and the police to report suspected illegal immigrants to the INS and raising the penalty for the production, sale, distribution, or sale of fraudulent immigration, residency, or citizenship documents. Supporters justify Proposition 187 by claiming that the number of illegal immigrants in California is so large and their use of public services is so great that they are unfairly costing legal taxpaying residents enormous sums of money that they can no longer afford to pay.

In terms of content, the main provisions of Proposition 187 are:

1. Education: It prohibits illegal immigrants from enrolling in any public school, college, or university in California, and requires that parents or guardians of all schoolchildren, including those born in the U.S. (U.S. citizens) must prove their legal residence. It also requires school administrators to report to the INS any students or parents they suspect of being illegal immigrants.

2. Health Services: It denies non-emergency publicly supported health care to those who cannot prove their legal status (this includes prenatal and postnatal care).

3. Social Services: It prohibits illegal immigrants from participating in state and locally funded programs intended to assist youth, the elderly, and the disabled. Illegal immigrants who apply for such aid must be reported to the INS.

4. Law Enforcement Cooperation: It obligates state, city, and county law enforcement officials to question people who are arrested about their citizenship or immigration status and report anyone suspected of being an illegal immigration to the INS.

5. Fraudulent Documents: It makes the production, distribution, sale, or use of fake immigration or citizenship documents a felony and increases the penalties for it.

Current Status:

Proposition 187 is an initiative that was included on the ballot in California in the November 1994 elections. It was approved by California voters by a 59% (for) to 41% (against) margin. A breakdown of that vote appears below. Right after the election, California Governor Pete Wilson issued an Executive Order requiring state agencies to develop "emergency regulations" that prevent illegal immigrants from obtaining state supported health, education, or social services. This was countered by several lawsuits by groups opposed to Proposition 187, who argued that parts of it violate Supreme Court rulings and the California state constitution. A U.S. District Judge, in January 1995, gave a preliminary injunction that prevents California from denying education, health, and social services from illegal immigrants. Whether or not that injunction will be made permanent will be decided in the courts. In March, 1995 a bill was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives that would make it more difficult for a Federal judge to block an initiative that was approved by a state's voters. Although California currently can not legally cut off these services to illegal immigrants, some legal residents (mainly Latino/a) are being asked to show proof of their identity and legal status, some people without documents have been denied service, and many illegal immigrants are afraid to go to health clinics or social service agencies out of fear of being reported to the INS and then deported. In addition, Florida and perhaps other states have groups that are advocating laws similar to Prop 187.

Who Voted For and Against Proposition 187?

Voter registration patterns and the demographic structure of California's population combine to produce a situation in which the state's general population and its eligible voters do not match very well. For example, non-Hispanic whites make up 57% of California's total population, but they are 80% of the eligible voters; Hispanics are 25% of California's total population, but they were only 8% of the voters in the November 1994 election. **Whites** voted almost 2 to 1 in favor of Proposition 187 (i.e., 63% favored it), while **Latinos** voted 3 to 1 against it (77% opposed it). Among **Asian** and **Black** voters a slight majority voted against it (53% against vs. 47% in favor of Prop 187).

Other breakdowns from the election are as follows (source: Bob Grieser, "How Californians Voted," Los Angeles Times, November 14, 1994: A3-4):

	Percent Voting For Prop 187	Percent Voting Against Prop 187
All Eligible Voters	59%	41%
Sex		
Males	60%	40%
Females	56%	44%
Age		
18 - 29 years old	47%	53%
30 - 49 " "	55%	45%
50 - 64 " "	63%	37%
65 and over	68%	32%
Educational Level		
High School or less	66%	34%
Some College	62%	38%
College Graduate	53%	47%
Household Income		
less than $20,000	53%	47%
$20,000 to $39,999	60%	40%
$40,000 to $59,999	59%	41%
$60,000 or more	58%	42%

Critical Responses to Proposition 187

Opponents of Proposition 187 criticize it on many grounds. The main objections are the following claims:

1. Rather than saving California taxpayers' money, it will probably end up costing California more money than it will save. For example, the state could lose millions of dollars provided by federal government health care programs that benefit legal residents if state officials enforce parts of Prop 187 that violate federal regulations. Substantial costs would also occur as a direct result of administering Prop 187 and the possibility exists that opponents of Prop 187 may organize an economic boycott of California or some of its products.

2. Much of Prop 187 is illegal and will be overturned in court (and costs of all Prop 187 litigation will be born by state taxpayers, adding to costs mentioned in the preceding item). For example, in earlier cases, the U.S. Supreme Court and the California Supreme Court have ruled that illegal immigrants are entitled to attend public schools. Other parts of Prop 187 deal which things that are already covered by current law. For example, illegal immigrants are already ineligible for food stamps, unemployment insurance, and AFDC, and it is already against the law to make, sell, or use false immigration or citizenship documents.

3. Parts of California's economy are dependent on illegal immigration; many of these workers already receive very low wages and face harsh working conditions, so it is cruel and unfair to make their situations even worse by denying them basic educational, health, and social services. Doing so, if it does not drive them out, will cause an increase in the numbers of people in the long-term poverty "underclass."

4. Efforts to enforce Proposition 187 will result in suspicion of and discrimination against legal residents or citizens with "foreign-sounding" names or a physical appearance that fits the general public's image of an "illegal alien." Latinos and people from Asia are most likely to be at risk of inconveniences, indignities, accusations, and denials of service from people who think they might be illegal immigrants.

5. Proposition 187 may cause the general public to have greater risk of exposure to various diseases if it bars illegal immigrants' access to health care. Tuberculosis is known to be a health problem among illegal immigrants, and it is possible it or other communicable illnesses may spread to other people.

6. Some of the support for Proposition 187 is based on prejudice or xenophobia, and represents the use of illegal immigrants as scapegoats -- people are blaming "illegal aliens" for the troubles of California, when the real causes lie elsewhere.

Research, Discussion, and Critical Thinking

1. Have your students design a survey that will enable them to investigate people's opinions about the current volume of immigration to the U.S. and their beliefs about immigrants and job competition. Get them to sample from different social groups and compare the responses, and try to account for differences that appear. See which of the five points of view on job competition are most popular, and note whether any other positions not described here are found.

2. After explaining the five points of view on immigration and job competition, have your students discuss them in class (as a whole or in several small discussion groups). What opinions and evidence do they bring up, and what ideas and evidence is most or least convincing to them?

3. It's difficult to be impartial or objective about the job competition question or the question of immigration restriction. What we perceive to be our own self-interest or group-interest may strongly influence the position we take. Have the class try to identify and discuss what interest groups in society, or what types of people, would be most likely to take a certain point of view about how much immigration is good or is too much (or the various views on immigrants and job competition). For example, would the owner or manager of a chicken processing plant near your town be happier (or more upset) about a large influx of immigrants than would the workers in the town's restaurants?

4. Ask your students to answer the multiple choice questions about immigration, welfare use, and Proposition 187. Then discuss the issues these questions raise. Perhaps you can do a mock election campaign in your class, in which students play roles of supporters and opponents of Proposition 187 in your state. Have them debate the issues, let the class vote on it, and then have the class analyze the results.

5. Have students do research to find out what, if any, state, county, city, or private health, education, and social service agencies in their community provide assistance to immigrants. Then have them interview some of the service providers to learn more about the kinds of services immigrants need and use, and get their views on the costs and benefits of maintaining or eliminating the services that are publicly funded.

Section 5. Additional Information Sources on U.S. Immigration

U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Published annually. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Department of Commerce. Statistical Abstract of the United States. Published annually. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

International Migration Review. Published quarterly by the Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island, NY.

The Ellis Island Immigration Museum, Ellis Island, NY. Excellent exhibitions on immigrants arriving at this major entry point in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

The Center for Migration Studies. An important source of information on immigration. In addition to publishing the International Migration Review it also publishes books and a magazine, "Migration World" (prior to 1986 it was known as Migration Today). 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island, NY 10304-1199, (718) 351-8800.

Most population or demography research centers at major American universities have programs, libraries, or projects on U.S. immigration, as do many specialized ethnic studies departments, and some sociology and anthropology departments.

Georgia teachers looking for useful material on immigrants in Georgia will find the best single source is the Center for Applied Research in Anthropology, at Georgia State University, One University Plaza, Atlanta, GA 30303 (404 651-1038).